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ABSTRACT

The dissatisfaction theory of American democracy (Ianneccone and Lutz, 1970, 1978) purports that citizens do not become politically active until a high level of dissatisfaction is present and that superintendent turnover is the end result of a process in which the school board becomes increasingly unresponsive to its community, dissatisfaction prompts community members to defeat incumbent board members, and changes in board membership create value shifts often resulting in superintendent turnover. The paper proposes to support the dissatisfaction theory of American democracy through a case study of the Leafy Rivers School District. The study examines indicators of the three variables leading to changes in school policy--changes in community values, citizen participation, and school board values. It also documents the changes in school policy following the hiring of the new superintendent and categorizes the identified policy changes according to seven domains: (1) district reorganization; (2) educational goals; (3) personnel quality and choice; (4) testing and assessment; (5) educational finances; (6) building and facilities; and (7) interaction with the board. References and 15 pages of charts and graphs are included. (TE)

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POLICY CHANGES FOLLOWING SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER INCUMBENT DEFEAT AND SUPERINTENDENT TURNOVER: A CASE STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

In 1985 James George, Superintendent of Leafy Rivers School District was forced to resign just five months prior to his retirement. After 26 years in the district the school board voted 3-2 to non-renew his contract. Numerous public hearings, one attended by over 400 individuals, resulted from this conflict. Additionally, an organized group of community members attempted to recall the three board members who voted against renewing Georges's contract. His successor, Robert Adams, a man in his late 30's, came from a district with an enrollment of 2500 where he had been superintendent for only three years. Prior to the Leafy Rivers appointment Adams held central office positions in several other districts, including Special Education Director and Assistant Superintendent.

Ianneccone and Lutz have identified this pattern of involuntary superintendent turnover in their Dissatisfaction Theory of American Democracy (1970, 1978). They purport that American Democracy is largely consentual, that citizens do not become politically active until a high level of dissatisfaction is present. Superintendent turnover, as described above, is the end result of a process in which the school board becomes increasingly non-responsive to its community. As dissatisfaction of the community memebers increases they intensify their political activity forcing change in through incumbent defeat. These changes in school board membership create value shifts often resulting in superintendent turnover. Frequently the turnover is involuntary, where the superintendent resigns as a

result of a non-unanimous renewal vote or at the board's request. Changes in policy follow the change in superintendents.

The process of incumbent defeat and involuntary superintendent turnover was played out in Leafy Rivers School District. The forced resignation of James George occurred following increased political activity and two successive incumbent defeats. The new superintendent, Robert Adams, initiated numerous policy changes across many areas in the Leafy Rivers District.

PURPOSE

This paper proposes to support the Dissatisfaction Theory of American Democracy through the presentation of a case study. It also proposes to document the policy changes that occurred following superintendent succession. The events that occurred in the Leafy Rivers School District illustrate the political process of incumbent defeat and superintendent turnover. They also demonstrate the extensive policy changes which occur when new values are infused into a district. The purpose of this study is threefold:

1. to examine and document the indicators of the three variables leading to changes in school policy
   a. changes in community values.
   b. changes in citizen participation.
   c. changes in school board values.

2. to identify and document the changes in school policy following the hiring of the new superintendent.

3. to categorize the identified policy changes according to educational domains and policy values described by Mitchell, Marshall and Wirt.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Iannaccone and Lutz (1970) present a Dissatisfaction Theory of American Democracy describing a political process in a reform government where the citizens become involved politically in local school districts when they are dissatisfied. In other words when the policy of a local school district is no longer compatible with the values of its community the citizens become politically active to voice their dissatisfaction and effect change in public policy.

Four variables operate in a sequential and predictable manner: (1) community member values; (2) community participation in school board elections; (3) school board member values; and (4) school policies. As community member values change (^CMV), over time, there will be a change in the nature of community participation (^CP) in school board elections which, in turn, will lead (--->) to change in school board values (^SBV) creating change in school policy (^SP). Represented symbolically it would be as follows:

(1) ^CMV ---> ^CP

(2) ^CP ---> ^SBV

(3) ^SBV ---> ^SP

As a particular school district's community values change, and are not reflected in school policy, dissatisfaction will increase causing citizens to become politically active, unseating incumbent school board members. It is this change which modifies board values by introduction of new members via conflict.

Subsequently school policy is changed, frequently, through an involuntary turnover in the district superintendency. The changes initiated via the new superintendent should reflect the value shift experienced in the community.

Portions of the taxonomy for state educational policy and their goals (Mitchell et al) will provide the framework to categorize changes instituted by the Superintendent Adams following the involuntary superintendent turnover of James George. Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) and later Mitchell, Marshall and Wirt (1985, 1986a, 1986b) developed an empirical taxonomy of policy mechanisms based on similarities and differences among existing policies. Seven mechanisms, or clusterings, of educational issue-areas are identified at the state level in establishing educational policy. These seven are: school organization, finance, program , personnel, student assessment, school facilities, and curriculum.

School organization is defined as the allocation of power to various structures within a school system; finane addresses the allocation of fiscal resources to various school activities; school program relates to program standards established for accreditation or in various subjects; personnel policy governs certification and training issues of the staff; testing and assessment defines the nature, frequency and outcome of student testing; school facilities and buildings determines architecture, placement, and maintenance for buildings and other facilities; and finally, curriculum materials development and selection addresses the quality and quantity of available materials.

Although these seven were identified at the state level, these state policy mechanisms should pertain to the policy issues developed at the local level.

An additional component in quantification of school policy regards the goals that various policies are intended to achieve. Mitchell, Marshall and Wirt have identified four goals of education which are competitive and mutually exclusive. The first is that of efficiency which began in the 1920's with a strong business orientation toward cost-effectiveness. The second is that of equity which had its birth in the 1950's with the civil rights movement and increased in strength through the 70's. Equity issues focus on fairness. Quality, the third goal, had its beginnings in the Sputnik era and has continued to gain momentum as the push for 'excellence' has increased, reaching its zenith with the "Nation at Risk Report" (1983). A fourth goal category is that of choice, which tries to increase options and flexibility.

These goals are competing at any point when educational policies are determined (Mitchell and Encarnation, 1984; Mitchell, Marshall and Wirt (1987). The conditions for a taxonomy are met when the categories are competing and mutually exclusive. It is then possible to infer from any given policy decision the particular goal it intends to satisfy.

METHODOLOGY

A twenty-year review of county and district records was conducted to identify the first two variables: (1) change in

community member values and; (2) change in participation of school board elections. Although a ten-year review, from 1977 to 1987, was initially planned, the review was extended an additional ten years, to 1965. Changes in community values were indicated through (a) student enrollments and (b) assessed valuation of property values in the district. Changes in the nature of citizen participation were identified by (a) number of candidates running for the school board in both the primary and general elections, (b) the number of registered voters in the district and (c) distribution of votes among the candidates. Changes in values of school board members, the third indicator, was identified through: (a) changes in board membership; (b) a record of incumbent defeats during the last twenty years and; (c) voting records of the school board.

Changes in the school policy following the involuntary turnover in superintendents were assessed through four different types of data. These included (a) a seven-year review of the board minutes, (b) a review of newspaper reports and (c) a review of the district newsletter, "The Report Card" (This newsletter is mailed to all school district patrons. Using this design the same issue may be viewed from three perspectives:

(a) the board minutes provided an internal perspective, the organization viewing the organization (inside to inside);

(b) the district newsletter provided the perspective of how the organization wants the community to perceive it (inside to outside);

(c) the newspaper articles gave the perspective of the community perceiving the organization (outside to inside).

The fourth type of data came from open-ended interviews with district personnel who had been in the district during the tenures of both the current superintendent and his predecessor. Interviews were conducted with central office administrators, a building principal and a representative from both the certificated and the classified associations. These interviews enriched the data through anecdotal information and provided a vehicle to balance issues between the former and the current superintendent.

Finally, the policy changes, once identified were categorized or codified according to the taxonomy described by Mitchell, Marshall and Wirt. The changes were categorized by date of implementation and area of governance (e.g., finance, organization, personnel, facilities, program, student assessment, curriculum). Additionally they were quantified by the educational goal each change was intended to satisfy (efficiency, equity, quality, or choice).

CASE STUDY PRESENTATION

Leafy Rivers: The Community

Leafy Rivers, a bedroom community, situated near a metropolitan area of 200,000, covers an area of 25 square miles. It is one of three 'valley' districts and is sandwiched between the two largest districts in the area. Although there are many businesses and several shopping centers the only major industry in Leafy Rivers is the paper mill. Riverton, a small community of 1200 residents, is at the heart of the district. A major thoroughfare bisects the district and is the second busiest North-South arterial in the metropolitan area. In the 1980's an exclusive housing development was built in the north end of Leafy Rivers.

The teaching staff, many of whom are graduates of Leafy Rivers themselves, have an average age of 44 years. In fact, there are twenty faculty members with a minimum of 25 years of teaching service in Leafy Rivers, alone. Enrollment has steadily declined from 4000 students in the early 70's to 2500 in 1986. A teaching staff of 125 is housed in eight buildings. These include: four K-4 elementary buildings with enrollments ranging from 200-250; one middle school for 5-6 grades and one junior high, both with enrollments of 360; one high school, grades 9-12, with 850 students; and one alternative high school with 230 students, a cooperative with two other districts, that houses 225 students. An alternative high school and community college programs now occupy two buildings which previously were district elementary buildings.

Leafy Rivers is a district that has regularly passed maintenance and operations levies but had not passed a major bond since 1960. Two minor bonds for under $500,000 were passed in 1978 and 1982. In the Spring of 1987 the district passed a $12.4 million dollar bond to remodel the K-4 buildings, science and math wings to the High School, and add a new wing and gymnasium to the 5-6 building to create a new 5-8 facility. The junior high building, built in 1924, is to remain open as administrative offices and possibly a community center.

1971-79: The Tollman Era

Albert Tollman came from a district on the west side of the state to the Leafy Rivers Superintendency in 1971. He was elected to the state legislature during the 1978-79 school year, tendering his resignation at the end of that year. During Tollman's tenure, prior to the Levy Lid Law of the district routinely passed M&O levies of 10-12 mils. Tollman regularly rolled the unused portion back to the taxpayer. Enrollment declined from a recod high of 4000 students to 3200 students while assessed valuation increased from 52 million to 170 million dollars.

During his tenure six elementary buildings, two junior highs and one high school were operational. Staff included teachers, principals and two central office staff. Principals and staff in the building changed only through retirement or resignation, with many beginning and ending their educational careers of 25-30 years in the Leafy Rivers district. There were few changes in the educational program during those years; building grade level

configuration remained the same with two k-3, two 4-6, one 3-6 and one k-2 buildings. In the Spring of 1979 one elementary was closed because of an arson fire and was reopened in 1981.

One year prior to Tollman's resignation, 1977, three new school board members were elected. In 1979 the remaining two director districts replaced the incumbents, all five incumbents completed their terms but elected not to run again. At the time of the election in 1977 the incumbent board had a total of 41 years experience, with two of the board members each having 12 years minimum experience. In a three year period the entire board membership changed with no incumbent defeats or board appointments. This total change in board membership faced George as he assumed the superintendency in Leafy Rivers. There was no old guard to induct the newer members; there was the 'new' and 'newer' guard.

1979-85: The George Era

George came to Leafy Rivers in 1957 as a teacher and moved into the Assistant Superintendency in 1974. During the 1978-79 school year he was appointed as Acting Superintendent while Tollman took an unpaid leave to pursue his political aspirations. A search for a new superintendent was conducted during the following year and in the Spring of 1980 George was appointed as Leafy Rivers's Superintendent. During his six-year tenure district enrollment declined by 500 students while assessed value increased sharply to a high of 430 million dollars.

Changes in district program during this time included the remodeling of the school that had been closed by fire. An

alternative high school, a cooperative effort with two other districts, was opened an older elementary building and another elementary building was closed and leased to the community college. In 1981, a district reorganization was adopted which created two K-2 and two 3-5 elementary buildings, and two 6-8 middle schools, making the high school a 9-12 building. There was little turnover in district staff other than through the retirement-resignation process. One elementary building, later leased to another public agency, was opened and closed by the same principal, a duration of 30 years, with his wife as secretary. Although not repeated in other buildings, longevity of building principalships characterized the Leafy Rivers District.

Other events during George's tenure included two brief school closures (one resulting from a natural catastrophe and another from a gas leak), creation of the capable learners program and the development of an alternative high school program. A proposal was made for an alternative elementary program but was not implemented. Changes in central office personnel included the hiring of a business manager and a second assistant superintendent. Several pieces of district property were declared surplus and sold.

When George took over in 1979 all five director districts had replaced their incumbents during an election in the preceeding four year time period. No board member had served longer than three years. During the next six years the board make-up changed 5 times, only one director district maintained

its incumbent. Since 1973 at least one of the board positions in each election year has had a minimum of two candidates. The 1977 election was characterized by the simultaneous resignation of all incumbents. In 1981 a board appointee of one year was defeated at the polls and another incumbent resigned, that position was not challenged. In 1981 the 3-year renewal of the Superintendent's contract was not unanimous; in 1983 population shifts forced director district reorganization; and in 1985 three board members voted to non-renew George. A recall effort was initiated for board members voting against George's non-renewal. Following George's departure, two of the three board members were replaced, with one of the insurgents having been a leader in the recall effort. Two other incumbents ran although their terms had not expired. Both were successful in their bid.

Two unsuccessful bond elections were held, one in 1982 for 4.5 million dollars and another in 1984 for 12 million dollars.

1985-present: The Adams Era

District enrollment continued to decline in Leafy Rivers. Assessed valuation is continuing to increase but is not as rapid as the previous ten-year period.

During Adams's first year two board members were replaced, including an incumbent defeat and a late resignation from the board president because of fraudulent use of a district credit card. His resignation came after great pressure from other board members and was too late for the primary. During Adams's second year another board member resigned following arrest for misuse of funds in a civil issue (following trial he was found guilty and

sentenced). The appointee for that position was a longtime resident and a retired school administrator from a neighboring school district.

Building configurations remained the same during the first year but district reorganization was announced in January of 1986 with administrators and teaching staff being shifted. All administrators, except two were moved, and all but one teacher either changed building or grade level. Central office positions were replaced with existing staff. Previous central office staff left to assume central office positions in other districts. During Adams's second year as Superintendent the elementary alternative program was initiated, the special education program was withdrawn from the multi-district cooperative, and an elementary counseling program was begun.

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Change in Community Member Values:

Change in the values of community members is a long term process requiring a longitudinal review of district enrollment and county assessor records. The twenty-one years between 1965 and 1986 were a time of rapidly escalating assessed value and decreasing student enrollment for Leaty Rivers (See Graph 1). Student enrollment increased until the 1971-72 school year when it peaked at 4036 students (See Graph 2). The following year began a downward spiral for enrollment from which Leaty Rivers has not recovered. Since 1972 enrollment has gradually but continually declined, reaching an all-time low of 2566 students

during the 1985-86 school year. The rate of decline continues to decrease however it has flattened out since 1982; enrollment in the elementary grades is increasing while at the secondary level it is decreasing.

While enrollment has declined, assessed values of the property in the district have increased from $18.0 million in 1965 to $466.2 million in 1987. From 1965 until 1974 the rate of valuation increase was low, however from 1974 to 1987 the average increase per year was $41 million. The greatest jump was in 1983 when property values in the district jumped by $93 million in a single year, an increase of 75.9%.

Change in Nature of Citizen Participation:

The number of candidates running for school board positions is one measure of increased dissatisfaction. During 1965-1975 there were few board changes, in fact, no more than one candidate ran per open position. In other words, if three District Directors were to be elected only three candidates would run. These were likely to be incumbents who were then re-elected. An event indicative of citizen satisfaction with the school board occurred in 1973. When the director district boundaries were redistributed Mr. Allen, no longer resided in the District #1 from which he had been elected. He ran unopposed in District #5, his new district, and won.

In 1977 this period of stability was destroyed; no incumbents ran for re-election and a total of nine candidates ran to fill three positions. The next two elections each had one candidate over the number of positions and, again, no incumbents

ran for relection. However in 1983 and 1985 the number of candidates again increased for the number of positions available. In 1985 ten individuals sought four positions; this was a year that should have seen only two elections. Terms had expired for two directors, Districts #2 and #5; one incumbent ran unopposed and the other incumbent was defeated in the primary. In two cases the terms of office were not expired; in District #4 the board chose not to appoint when the director resigned and in the other case, District #1, the director wanted to test community support for himself and ran unopposed. (See Chart 1).

Two other indicators were assessed: (1) the number of registered voters in the district and; (2) the distribution of votes among the candidates. Voter turnout increased by slightly over 1000 citizens during the twenty year span, however until 1977 the number of registered voters fluctuated as seen in Chart 2. In 1977 the number of registered voters increased significantly and continued to increase. The most significant increases in registered voters appeared to be related to the Presidential elections rather than a function of community conflict. The three greatest increases were seen in the years following presidential elections. In descending order those years were: 1972, 1984, and 1976. The greatest increase was between 1971 and 1973 when the registered voters in Leaty Rivers jumped by 916. This was immediately following the 1972 Presidential election and was during the height of the Vietnam conflict. From 1983-1985, with a Presidential election held in

1984, the registered voters increased by 400, the second largest increase.

Percentage of voter turnout for school board elections has also increased since 1965, when only 17% of the registered voters cast ballots; only in 1967 and in 1971 was the percentage lower. In 1971 a new superintendent was appointed; voter turnout jumped from 8.8% in that year to 38% in 1973, the next election for school board. Voter turnout reached an all-time high in 1975 of 49.8% although the number registered dropped by 411. In 1977, when three board positions were open and no incumbents ran, 44.4% cast ballots with an increase of over 200 registered voters. The percentage of voter turnout for school board elections has remained at 30-40% while the number of registered voters has continued to increase (see Chart 2).

Although it appears that the most significant increases were related to political events of national scope (i.e., Vietnam and presidential elections) the continued climb of registered voters since 1977 along with the high percentage of voter turnout appears to indicate change in the nature of community participation in school board elections.

Another parameter indictive of change in citizen participation is that of distribution of votes among the candidates. In the period prior to 1977 when the three incumbents chose not to run for re-election, candidates had consistently won by more than 60% margins. Following 1977, those elected won by margins slightly over 50%. Three deviations were recorded (see Chart 3), one being an incumbent defeat and the

other two occured when more than two candidates ran in the general election as a result of late board resignations. (In these instances board members resigned too late for those interested in running for election to file for the primary.) In 1981 the incumbent, a 1980 board appointee, was defeated by an 85% margin, the largest single margin. This defeat, being the first incumbent defeat, signaled strong public opposition to the existing board values.

Changes in voter behavior (number of registered voters, percentage of voter turnout, number of candidates running and margin of the win) are indicators of change in the communities involvement in the school board election. The predictive value of these factors for community dissatisfaction increases as the behavior continues and intensifies over a period of time and as the behaviors correlate with each other. In Leafy Rivers each factor increased indicating dissatisfaction with the current educational system. As the community values diverged from those demonstrated by the board their political activity increased. Iannaccone and Lutz would argue that this supports their belief that as dissatisfaction increases in a community, its members will begin to mobilize their political resources.

Change in School Board Member Values:

Value change in school board members was identified by tracking the change in board members and the number of incumbent defeats through county election reacords. The third area of value change was examined locally through the voting records of the board members. Documentation of these three areas follows.

School boards are generally stable; incumbents frequently run in uncontested elections. Or if a board member retires, a resignation is proferred prior to the election. This process of early resignation allows the board to appoint a new member, thereby running an incumbent during the election, maintaining the homogeneity or stability of the board. Changes in the board membership are identified on Chart 5; each 4-year period is blocked off; within this timeframe all director districts would have been up for election/ re-election one time. This system allows assessment of conflict via changes in school board. From 1965-75 there were eight board member changes with one resignation, subsequent appointment and no special elections. This is in marked contrast to the next ten year period, 1976-86, where members changed thirteen times with two resignation-appointments and two special elections. This activity escalated during 1983-86 with two special elections and one resignation.

A corollary to the change in board membership is the number of incumbent defeats. Conflict between community and board interests can result in the defeat of an incumbent. Four incumbent defeats have been recorded in this sequence of events, with two occurring at the polls and two other cases involving late resignations. The first incumbent defeat occurred in 1981 with a landslide victory for the insurgent. In 1983 the director in District #1 resigned in late August after serving six years on the board. With two years remaining on his term the board decided to elect a replacement rather than appoint. The

resignation was tendered too late for any candidate to file for the primary election; Ianneconne and Lutz recommend that these type of cases be treated in the same manner as incumbent defeats. The third incumbent defeat occurred in 1985; the Director in District #2 was defeated in the primary with three opponents. The Director in District #4 was asked to resign for misusing the district credit card. Several months lapsed from when the resignation was requested and when it was proferred. Although the board could have appointed, a general election was held making this the fourth incumbent defeat. In 1986 the Director in District #5 resigned as a result of indictment on a civil issue; that vacancy was appointed.

High conflict is the issue when school board values change as a result of change in the school board. This change was demonstrated in Leafy Rivers. The conflict began in 1977 and continued for the next nine years. Graph #3 portrays the confict using two factors: an increase in voter turnout, and the Thorsted Conflict Index (TCI). The TCI establishes an index which increases as the number of incumbent defeats increases; it subtracts from 100% the number of votes for all incumbents over the number of incumbents running divided by the total votes cast over the number of seats being filled multiplied by 100. Generally when voter turnout was high the TCI was also high or would be in the subsequent election.

An increase in open conflict among board members also indicates conflict. When districts are quiescent decisions are usually unanimous or decisions are tabled for further discussion

until resolution is reached. In Leafy Rivers conflict among board members was demonstrated by an increase in abstentions, votes that were non-unanimous, votes that failed, and motions that failed for lack of a second.

Chart 6 reviews board actions from 1978-79 school year to 1985-86 school year. Board member names are in parentheses and voting action indicative of dissention is indicated below the name by director district. Any action other than unanimous was classified as dissention. 'Failed' means that board member voted against a motion that failed; 'abstain' means that board member abstained from voting on a motion; 'against' indicates that board member voted against a motion that passed; and 'no 2nd' indicates a board member that made a motion that failed for lack of a second to the motion. The number following the action indicates the number of times during the year that particular action was taken by that board member. For example, in 1982-83 McIntosh and Estey, each, made three motions that failed for lack of a second and Estey also abstained from one motion and voted against another motion that passed. The column for motions failed indicates the number of motions that failed because of votes against; to arrive at the number of motions that failed because of no second, the numbers following 'no 2nd' should be totalled.

Some disagreement was present as far back as 1978, however no motion failed until 1983-84 when 6 motions failed because of lack of a second. The next year it peaked at 9 failures for lack of a second and 4 failures for an insufficient number of 'yes votes. The subsequent years saw a sharp decline although several

motions still did not pass. It would appear that Mrs. Snow from District #3 was a primary agitator since the highest number of conflicting actions belonged to her.

Change in School Policy:

Change begets change. District policies changed as a direct result of changes in the school board. The first major change in policy was the non-renewal of the Superintendent, James George. When the board met in January of 1985 to write George's evaluation, two (Williams and Redford) of the five members were absent. An unsatisfactory evaluation was written and meeting was scheduled to review it with the Superintendent. Subsequently the board, in a 3-2 split, voted to non-renew George. A major community upheaval followed with a flurry of activity supporting the Superintendent. A copy of his evaluation was released to the press and a petition signed by over 1300 district citizens was presented requesting a reversal of the board decision. A recall attempt was led to remove the three board members who had voted against renewing the superintendent's contract. Two sets of charges were filed against three board members, however the Superior court found that none of the charges offered adequate evidence for recall.

Ultimately the board decision held; George was unemployed six months prior to his retirement date and 26 years after having come to Leafy Rivers. In a later request sick-leave cash-out was refused. George's strength was in fiscal administration, when his contract was non-renewed a large portion, several hundred

thousand dollars of cash reserve, was spent on maintenence equipment.

With the assistance of a representative from the State School Director's Association a search was conducted and in July 1985 a new Superintendent, Robert Adams, was hired. Adams was in his late 30's, had a Ph.D. in educational administration, 12 years in the industry with most of it in central office.

What was George's fatal error? It is not clear. It appears that he was a man caught at the wrong time. He certainly did not read the "handwritting on the wall wher the director in District #3 voted against his renewal back in 1981, her second year on the board. The final issue was, according to several sources, was the development of an alternative elementary program. Superintendent Geaorge was in favor of such a move although the board was not. His support of the program was his career's death knell 'Leafy Rivers'.

What follows is a list of changes that have been instituted since Adams succeeded as Superintendent. All areas were impacted; some with more changes, some with more far-reaching change. These changes in school policy were identified by the author either through interviews, review of the board minutes or during conversations with other staff during the course of the 1986-87 school year. In most cases changes were corroborated in all three areas.

Change can encompass educational policy domains as well as educational goals.choice. The following is a discussion of the policy changes previously outlined. The policy changes are

categorized into domains of School Organization, Personnel, School Program, Testing and Assesssment, Finances, and Facilities. Each policy is codified according to the educational goals of efficiency, equity, quality, and choice.

When outside superintendent succession occurs changes are usually seen in the area of organization. Leafy Rivers was no exception; changes varied in goals, some were for equity, others were for quality. One change in school organization was the development of community input systems. Broadening the base of input into decision-making is an equity goal. Citizen input has been structured into many district committees. Prior to determining the bond issue community goal setting sessions were held. A Building committee was created; those people, relying heavily on community and staff input, designed the Bond issue proposal. This approach was successful, resulting in the passing of the first major bond issue in thirty years.

This bond issue introduced the concept of a 5-8 building; the old junior high school was to be closed. This was a money-saving goal, reducing the number of buildings and administrators. Although the savings are anticipated it will be 2 years before the goal will be realized .

The most dramatic changes were in the area of district reorganization. The administrative staff was reorganized in terms of job assignments and the teaching staff, excluding the secondary level, was reorganized. All elementary teachers, except for two, were reassigned to a new grade level and/ or building beginning in Fall 1986. The grade levels

reconfiguration appeared to be the major driver of this change. Leafy Rivers administrators prided themselves on longevity, principals having been in their respective positions in the same building for many years. There had been no organized plan to move them within the system prior to 1986; movement of administrators within the district appeared to be a function of attrition or the creation of new positions. Decision-making also became decentralized a significant departure from the previous two administrations. Quality appeared to be the intended goal of both policy changes; the search for innovation and quality in program is evident. The goal was to maximize creativity and innovation by breaking up long standing cliques and mindsets (i.e., "this is how it has always been done). This move to reorganization appears to eliminate roadblocks to change by breaking up social groups and informal power structures. The way was paved for introduction of program innovations.

The second area of policy change was in the domain of school program, where it appears that educational goals were efficiency and choice. Changes in this area of policy include withdrawal from the Silver Valley Special Education Cooperative, which met a goal of efficiency. It was cost-effective to begin the district's own special education program rather than send all the special education allocation to the Silver Valley Cooperative. This also allowed the district to develop their own special education program using a coordinated service delivery or Learning Specialist model. Program flexibility was increased via the district's special education program and the Learning

Specialist model; previously the Cooperative established parameters for programming and Leafy Rivers School District simply accepted those parameters because that 'was all there was'. The strength of these models is in allowing the staff flexibility to design programs to fit the child, meeting the goal of choice. Other program changes which increase the number of available options include: the middle school model, the alternative elementary education (SPICE) program, and elementary counselors.

The third policy area of change was that of personnel where goals were quality and choice. Several changes occurring under this mechanism of educational policy addressed choice. Goals of choice focus on changing roles. This was seen in the development of the Special Education Directorship; accountability may have been a factor here as well. This person has other categorical program responsibilities; with increased responsibility comes increased accountability. Another change in the area of personnel was the new learning specialist role focusing on role change satisfying a goal of choice. Addition of this position increased the choices of staff in the Leafy Rivers School District. (The position of learning specialist and not the program are the focus of the personnel policy issue. The learning specialist as a program model will be discussed in the next section.) The hiring of a woman principal, who was also Oriental was seen as a role change as well; she had previously been a primary teacher. She served as a one-year replacement in one elementary building and subsequently was placed in the

higheet socio-economic elementary building in the district. The establishment of the administrative cabinet, which meets on a weekly basis, and comprises only Central Office administrators addresses the goal of quality by increasing accountability.

The fourth policy issue is that of testing and assessment. This area focuses on the nature, frequency and consequences of assessment measurement. A testing committee was formed that voted to eliminate all except for the state mandated testing at the fourth, sixth, eighth, and tenth grades. Because of the enormous expense incurred via the testing process and the revenue saved as a result of elimination this was coded as an efficiency goal. It was cost effective to eliminate the testing from the repetoire of activities engaged in by the faculty in the educational program.

Finances of education is the fifth policy issue. Two changes are identified here with close connection between the two but tied to different goals. Decentralization of fiscal management relates to goals of equity, seeking greater equalization of resources; building-based management is grounded in choice. Cost-effectiveness is the issue in a move to decentralization of funds; however when applied in to a building-based management process the choices available to the building for expenditure are expanded.

Building and facilities, the sixth policy issue, related to the school buildings and their upkeep. The only changes in this area related to the bond levy; funded in the bond was a proposal for the addition of a wing onto the existing High School,

addition of a wing onto the current 5-6 building to create a 5-8 building for 1989, closure of the Junior High School building (circa 1924) and the renovation and remodeling of the present elementary buildings. Because of inadequate funds even routine maintenence was not done, consequently, some buildings are in states of disrepair. This shift in policy meets the goals of choice which results in long range planning and quality which looks toward improved programs resulting from the contsruction.

The final area of change was that of Curriculum. A search for quality has driven these changes which included formation of curriculum coimmittees for every area and the development of a specified curriculum revision plan. The nature of the content and the system in place for textbook adoption has provided some measure of stability to this policy area. Other than adoption of a new report card changes in this area have not affected the classroom.

There were some changes that were not related to policy but did represent major shifts in philosophical orientation. The most frequent change was in the leadership style. Adams has a more open, information seeking approach than George. The public relations orientatior also represents a shift; George was seldom seen in the community and not at all by the faculty. In contrast Adams is very active in service clubs and administrators are encouraged to become active in community organizations as well. Use of a public relations company to publish the newsletter and efforts to increase the quality in terms of the professionalism

it promotes are also changes which are not policy but are a philosophical change.

Interaction with the board was also and area where change was implemented. Addition of consent agenda to the board agenda helped to shorten board meetings without bypassing member concerns. The consent agenda allows a single vote to pass items that are routine in nature but typically take time just in the routine process of consenting. Passing these items, which are identified for the board is a single vote; if a board member would like further information or to hear discussion the item can be removed from the consent agenda. These items which serve to expedite processing of routine activities does not fall under policy but does represent change.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

This case study proposed to examine and document the indicators of the variables leading to changes in school policy as enacted in the Leafy Rivers School District. The findings in this study support the The Dissatisfaction Theory of American Democracy as defined by Ianneconne and Lutz. Changes in community values were documented through radical increases in assessed valuation and declining enrollment. As these changes passed critical points, the level of citizen participation changed: percetage of voter turnout and number of candidates for open school board positions increased markedly. The level of community involvement in school board elections increased sharply and continued for two full school board terms, resulting in four

incumbent defeats and an involuntary turnover in superintendents. Board turnover was at its height during 1977 while conflict in terms of non-unanimous and failed motions of the board increased during 1983-85. External community conflict increased prior to internal board conflict, demonstrating that shifts in board values occur after shifts in community values.

The final chapter has yet to be written, the director for District #3 is the last hold-over board member from the previous administration. Although she instigated the non-renewal of George, having voted against him in 1981, she now represents the old guard. During the bond issue in Spring 1987, she was fairly active in non-support of the new construction. The overwhelming support of the community for the bond, 69.3%, represents a community viewpoint in opposition to her own.

The second and third purposes of the case study review were to document the changes in school policy following the hiring of the new superintendent and to classify and them according to policy domain and goal attainment. The changes were extensive and encompassed all seven educational domains. The major changes occurred in the areas of organization, personnel, and program. Finance, the fourth area of major change, was the last in the sequence reported in this document. Changes in Facilities will be realized in 2 years; however the ground work has been laid. Changes in curriculum and in student assessment were less extensive and did not have as great an impact.

Choice and quality appeared to be the major goals of the new administration. Equity and efficiency, although evident in some

issues, appeared to be less important as goals in the Adams administration, a marked difference from the major goal of efficiency in the George and Tollman administrations. It does appear that fiscal determiners run across the face of all policy decisions. In other words, each policy change is influenced by fiscal considerations. Major goal shift of the district occurred as a result of the hiring of a new Superintendent and the change in board membership.

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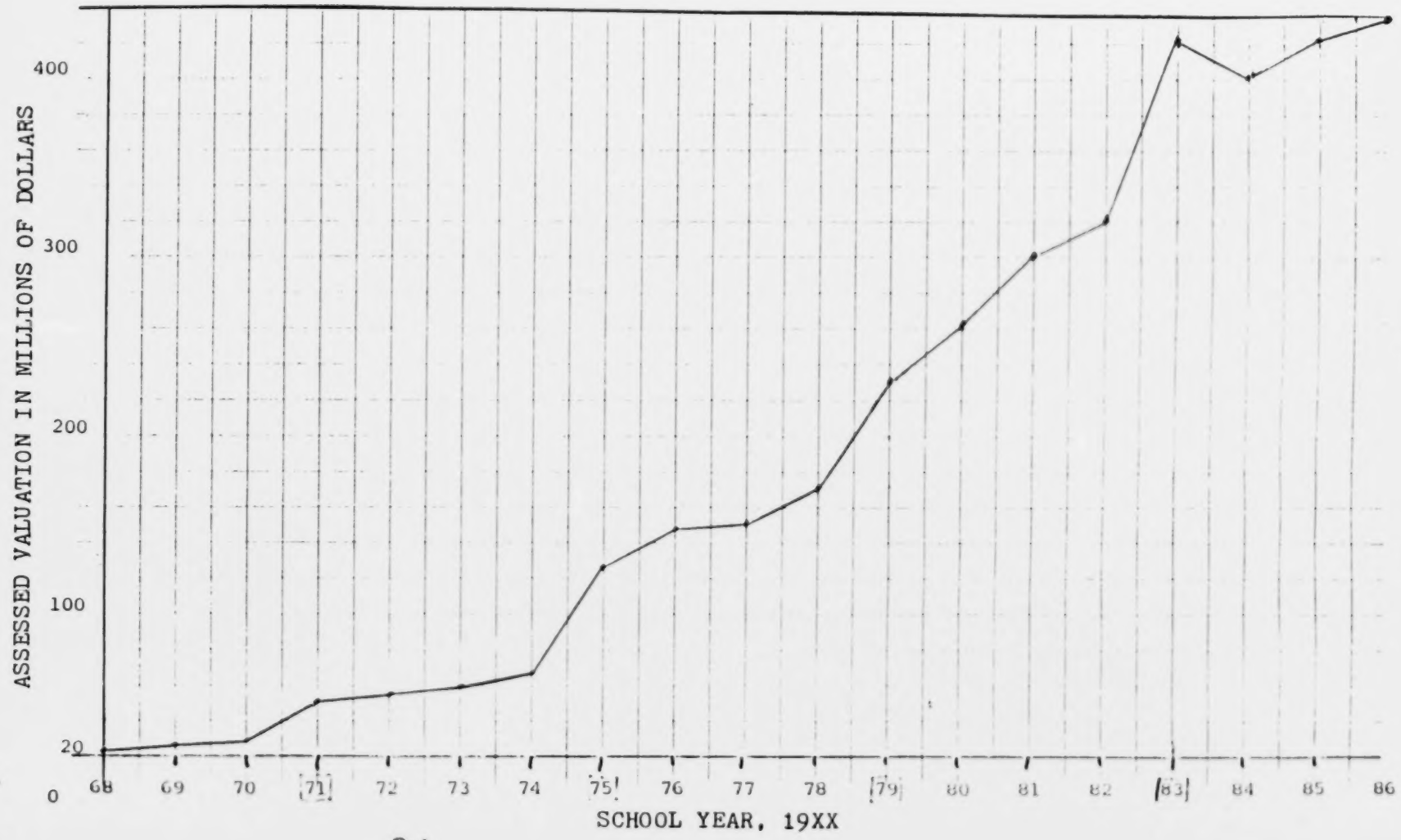
GRAPH 1

ASSESSED VALUATION BY SCHOOL YEAR

Leafy Rivers SCHOOL DISTRICT

WASHINGTON



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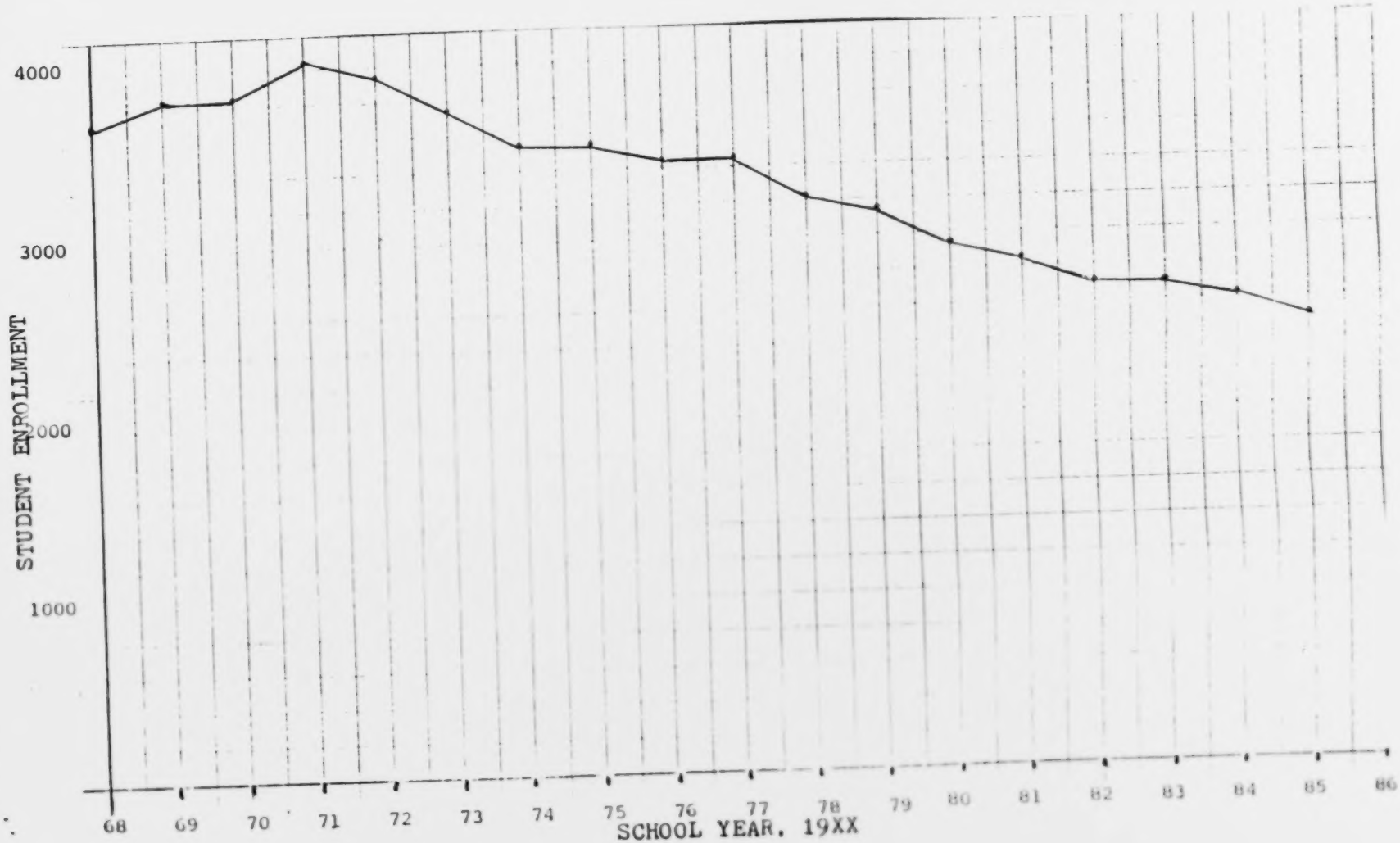
GRAPH 2

STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY SCHOOL YEAR

Leafy Rivers SCHOOL DISTRICT

WASHINGTON



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GRAPH 3

Thorsted Conflict Index
and
Percent Voter Turnout

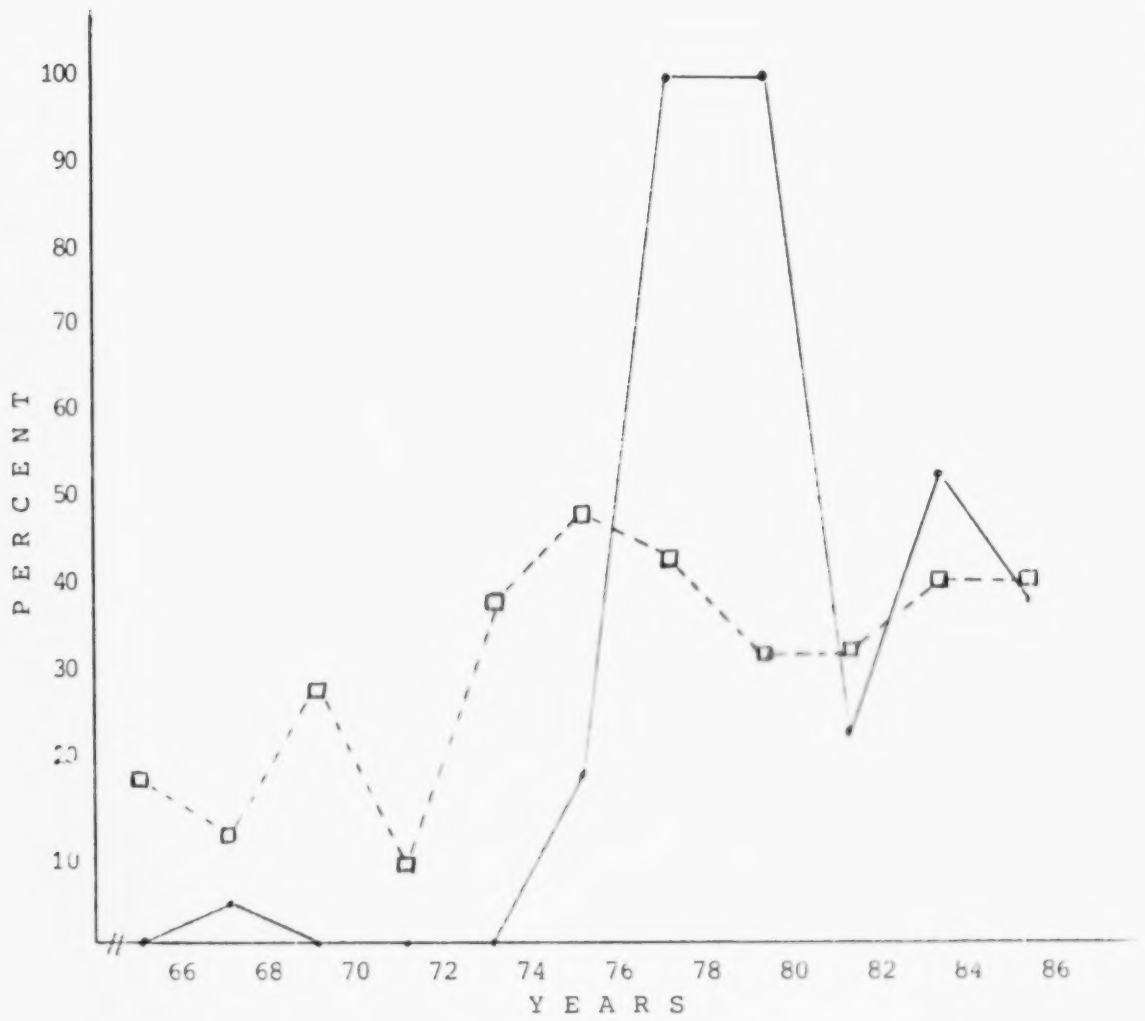

CHART 1:

Number of Candidates in School Board Elections

ELECTION YEAR	DIRECTOR DISTRICTS					TOTAL CANDIDATES ABOVE OPEN POSITIONS
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	
1965	NEW-1	NEW-1			NEW-1	0
1967			NEW-2	NEW-1		1
1969	INC-1	INC-1			NEW-1	0
1971			INC-1	INC-1		0
*1973	NEW-1	INC-1			NEW-2	1
1975			INC-1 NEW-1	INC-1		1
1977	pNEW-3	NEW-2			pNEW-3	5
1979			NEW-1	NEW-2		1
1981	INC-1	NEW-1			#INC-1 NEW-1	1
1983	+NEW-4 INC-R		INC-1	NEW-1		3
1985	INC-1	+#INC-1 pNEW-3		+NEW-3 #INC-R	INC-1	6

Candidates from the primaries are included in the tallies.

'+' indicates a special election was held; instead of making an appointment the board chose to permit an election

'#' indicates an incumbent defeat either in the primary or the general election

'p' indicates that a primary was held.

'*' in this year district boundaries were changed and the incumbent previously in Director District #1 ran for office in District #5.

CHART 2:

Voter Turnout in School Board Elections

ELECTION YEAR	VOTES CAST/ REGISTERED VOTERS	VOTER CHANGE	% VOTER TURNOUT	POSITIONS CONTESTED/ POSITIONS OPEN
1965-P	1239/ 7262	--	17.0	0/3
1967	950/ 7102	-160	13.3	1/2
1969-P	2444/ 7161	+59	34.1	0/3
1971	627/ 7007	-84	8.8	0/2
1973-P	3024/ 7923	+916	38.1	1/3
1975	3747/ 7512	-411	49.8	1/2
1977-P	3434/ 7730	+218	44.4	3/3 primary held
1979	2444/ 7879	+149	31.0	1/2
1981-P	2649/ 7904	+25	33.5	1/3 incumbent defeat
1983	3206/ 7991	+87	40.1	1/3
1985-P	3563/ 8394	+403	42.4	2/4 incumbent defeat primary held

'P' indicates that a presidential election was held the preceeding year.

CHART 3:

% Margin By Which Candidate Elected

YEAR	% VOTER TURNOUT	% VOTES RECIEVED BY WINNING CANDIDATE #1	#2	#3	#4	5#
1967	13			68.0		
1973	38.1					67.0
1975	49.8			63.4		
1977	44.4	p53.8	52.5			p58.4
1979	31				53.3	
1981	33.5					*85.2
1983	40.1	+30.2				
1985	42.4		p*52.2		+43.3	

'*' signals an incumbent defeat
'+' signals more than two candidates per position
'p' indicates that a primary was held

CHART 4:

Change in Board Members by Year

Year	Member Change	Director Districts Open
1965	?	3 elections (#1, #2, #5)
1966	none	
1967	1 (#3)	2 elections (#3, #4)
1968	none	
1969	1 (#5)	3 elections (#1, #2, #5)
1970	none	
1971	none	2 elections (#3, #4)
1972	none	
1973	2 (#1, #5)	3 elections (#1, #2, #5)
1974	1 (#4)	resignation-appointment
1975	none	2 elections (#3, #4)
1976	none	
1977	3 (#1, #2, #5)	3 elections (#1, #2, #5)
1978	none	
1979	2 (#3, #4)	2 elections (#3, #4)
1980	1 (#5)	resignation-appointment
1981	2 (#2, #5)	3 elections (#1, #2, #5)
1982	none	
1983	2 (#1, #4)	3 elections (#1, #3, #4)
1984	none	
1985	2 (#2, #4)	4 elections (#1, #2, #4, #5)
1986	1 (#5)	resignation-appointment

CHART 5:

SCHOOL BOARD VOTING PATTERNS

YEAR	DISTRICT 1	DISTRICT 2	DISTRICT 3	DISTRICT 4	DISTRICT 5	RESULT OF MOTION
	(Neal)	(James)	(Mills)	(Tan)	(Lomas)	
1978-79	failed-1		failed-1	failed-1 abstain-1		failed-1
			(Snow)	(Park)		
1979-80	abstain-1	against-1	abstain-1			0
					(Holt)/A	
1980-81	against-2		against-2			0
		(Brown)				(Sills)
1981-82			abstain-1 against-1			0
1982-83			abstain-1 against-3			0
	no 2nd-3		no 2nd-3			failed-6
	(Eller)			(Ivar)		
1983-84	against-1		abstain-3 against-3			
	failed -2	failed-3	failed -2	failed-3	failed-1	failed-4
	no 2nd -3	no 2nd-2	no 2nd -2	no 2nd-2		failed-9
1984-85	against-2	failed-2	abstain-1 against-3 failed -2	failed-2	abstain-1 against-2	failed-2
		(Carl)		(Dahl)		
1985-86	failed-2	abstain-1	failed-2	against-1 failed -1	against-1 failed -1	failed-2

Board member names are in parentheses with member action indicated below the name. The number following the action indicates the number of times that year that action was taken by that board member. 'failed' indicates the member voted against a motion that failed. Motions made by a member which failed for lack of a second are indicated by 'no 2nd'.

CHART 6

Policy Changes by Issue-Area and Educational Goal

Educational Policy Domains	Educational Policy Goals: EFFICIENCY	EQUITY	QUALITY	CHOICE
SCHOOL ORGANIZATION (structural organization) - allocation of powers to various components within the school system	* 5-8 buildg	* Community goal setting	* Reorganization of: -administrators -teachers * Decentralization of decisions	
PERSONNEL (training/certification) - hiring, firing, evaluation				* Learning Specialists * New SpEd director * Woman principal * Estab. Admin Cabinet
SCHOOL PROGRAM	* Withdraw from special ed cooperative		* Middle School	* Alternative elementary program (SPICE) * Special ed program * increase electives * Middle School
TESTING (nature, frequency, and consequences)	* Elimination of all but state mandated tests			
FINANCE (distribution of financial responsibility)	* Decentralization			* Building based management
BUILDING MAINTENANCE			* 5-8 Buildg project * New H.S. wing	* Long range building plan * Renovation of 2 old schools
CURRICULUM (quality/quantity of instructional materials			* Written revision plan * Estab. curriculum committees	

Appendix A

SCHOOL YEAR	STUDENT ENROLL-MENT	ASSESSED VALUE MILLIONS	BOARD MEMBER ELECTION, VOTES RECIEVED, AND RESIGNATION DATA BY DIRECTOR DISTRICT				
			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
65-66		$18.0	Allen 1200	Gard 1239	(Call)	(Green)	Blain 1196
66-67	3698	$18.7	(Allen)	(Gard)	(Call)	(Green)	(Blain)
67-68	3738	$19.1	(Allen)	(Gard)	Mills 652 Moss 298	Green 822	(Blain)
68-69	3743	$20.1	(Allen	(Gard)	(Mills)	(Green)	(Blain)
69-70	3830	$21.1	Allen 2444	Gard 2440	(Mills)	(Green)	Ross 2385
70-71	3844	$23.8	(Allen)	(Gard)	(Mills)	(Green)	(Ross)
71-72	4036	$52.0	(Allen)	(Gard)	Mills 627	Green 622	(Ross)
72-73	3952	$53.0	(Allen)	(Gard)	(Mills)	(Green)	(Ross)
73-74	3750	$59.1	Wills 2948	Gard 3024	(Mills)	(Green)	Allen 2001 Gates 964
74-75	3549	$65.3	(Wills)	(Gard)	(Mills)	Green-R Tan-A	(Allen)
75-76	3544	$135.4	(Wills)	(Gard)	Mills 2376 Snow 1371	Tan 3182	(Allen)
76-77	3476	$147.3	(Wills)	(Gard)	(Mills)	(Tan)	(Allen)
77-78	3476	$158.4	Neal 1850 Morris 1589 p-3	James 1677 Wilcox 1512	(Mills)	(Tan)	Lomas 1933 Slate 1346 p-3

R: resignation A: appointment (): no election
*: incumbent defeat p-#: primary held - number of candidates
Numbers below names indicate the number of votes recieved in the election

Appendix A (continued)

SCHOOL YEAR	STUDENT ENROLL-MENT	ASSESSED VALUE MILLIONS	BOARD MEMBER ELECTION, VOTES RECIEVED, AND RESIGNATION DATA BY DIRECTOR DISTRICT				
			#1	#2	#3	#4	#5
78-79	3222	$170.5	(Neal)	(James)	(Mills)	(Tan)	(Lomas)
79-80	3189	$238.4	(Neal)	(James)	Snow 2386	Park 1303 Thomas 1141	(Lomas)
80-81	2967	$268.3	(Neal)	(James)	(Snow)	(Park)	Lomas-R Holt-A
81-82	2886	$302.4	Neal 2649	Brown 2564	(Snow)	(Park)	Sills 1359 *Holt 1236
82-83	2706	$326.2	(Neal)	(Brown)	(Snow)	(Park)	(Sills)
83-84	2710	$429.6	Neal-R Eller 1036 Farr 952 White 730 Rusk 711	(Brown)	Snow 2937	Ivar 3206	(Sills)
84-85	2678	$405.4	(Eller)	(Brown)	(Snow)	(Ivar)	(Sills)
85-86	2566	$422.5	Eller 3182	Carl 1861 Park 1702 *Brown defeated in prim	(Snow)	Ivar-R Dahl 1392 Davids 1261 Royal 559	Sills 2892
86-87		$439.8	(Eller)	(Carl)	(Snow)	(Dahl)	Sills-R Brook-A

R: resignation A: appointment (): no election
*: incumbent defeat p-#: primary held - number of candidates
Numbers below names indicate the number of votes recieved in the election